Volume 15, No. 1 Spring Number, 1926

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

CONTENTS

PAGE

A Map of the Paths of Life ..... *Frontispiece*

Early Friends and the Historical Imagination
JOHN W. GRAHAM 3

A Map of the Paths of Life 18

The Norse-American Centennial ..... HENRY J. CADBURY 21

Friends of the American Revolution ... MILTON H. HADLEY 25

Marking Historic Sites in Pennsylvania (*Continued*) 27

The Execution of Abraham Carlisle and John Roberts 28

From the Journal of Isaac Hadwen 29

Items from Periodicals 32

Notes and Queries 37

Book Notices and Reviews 41

Communications concerning editorial matters should be addressed to Editor, BULLETIN OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Dues and subscriptions should be paid to I. Thomas Steere, Treasurer of FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Subscription price, $1.00 per number, $2.00 per annum. Half price to libraries. All members receive the BULLETIN without extra charge.

HOLBROOK LIBRARY PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

OFFICERS OF
FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

President: George Vaux, Jr.
Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania
Vice-Presidents: Charles Francis Jenkins
Amelia Mott Gummere
Secretary: Joseph H. Haines,
130 W. Walnut Lane, Germantown, Pennsylvania
Treasurer: I. Thomas Steere,
Haverford, Pennsylvania
Honorary Treasurer: James H. Atkinson
Curator: Jane Moon Snipes
Editor of Bulletin: Rayner W. Kelsey

DIRECTORS

James H. Atkinson
Anna Jackson Branson
Henry Ferris
Amelia Mott Gummere
Joseph H. Haines
Charles Francis Jenkins
Rayner W. Kelsey
Walter Mendelson
Sarah E. P. Mickle
Anna Richardson
Lucy B. Roberts
I. Thomas Steere
Francis R. Taylor
George Vaux, Jr.

Notice to Members

The Membership Committee would call the attention of the members of the Historical Association to the fact that our activities could be greatly expanded if we had a larger membership.

Any member of the Society of Friends and also non-Friends are eligible for membership and the committee would welcome nominations. Kindly forward such nominations to the Chairman of the Membership Committee, Anna Richardson, Torresdale, Pennsylvania.

Annual membership dues, $2.00. Life membership, $50.00.

Volume 15, No. 1 Spring Number, 1926

Bulletin of
Friends' Historical Association

EARLY FRIENDS AND THE HISTORICAL IMAGINATION.[1]

By John W. Graham, M. A.

Professor of Quaker History and Research at Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.

The only unity of subject in this paper is that it deals with matters so far from current practices and from the modern world that we need some clear effort of the imagination to realize them.

1. George Fox's Environment.

When George Fox began his mission in 1647, there were only about five million Englishmen, fewer than in Greater London today, living either in the country or in small towns, if not in London. The roads were bad, often pack-horse tracks only.

There were no newspapers. The first, the *London Mercury,* was founded under Charles II. There were no magazines and no novels. There were plays, by Shakespeare and others, but the Puritans lived in another world, and knew nothing of playhouses.

There was no British Empire. The little colony of Puritans in New England, the Virginia and Maryland plantations, and three factories permitted by native potentates in India were its nucleus. The Empire of conquest began with Admiral Penn's capture of Jamaica in 1655–1656.

The world of sport—of test matches—did not exist. Sport was a local affair of the village green and the local hunt.

The world of finance was represented by the private banking practised by goldsmiths in London, and by a few struggling Companies of Merchant Adventurers.

[1]The substance of a paper read at the annual meeting of Friends' Historical Association held at Friends' Meeting House, 15th and Race Streets, Philadelphia, 11 mo. 30, 1925.

HOLBROOK LIBRARY
PACIFIC SCHOOL
OF RELIGION

There was no popular Science to occupy men's intellects. The Royal Society was not founded till 1662. Travel abroad was almost confined to the nobility.

With so much absent which now occupies our attention and furnishes our talk, with none of the pervading interests of today, what was there to interest people beyond just working for their living?

There was Religion. This took the place of football and racing, of newspapers and novels, of science and invention, of imperial politics and foreign travel, in the restless and excitable society of today. Sermons were events as important as baseball matches. The presence of George Fox in a district, after he became a public man, was as exciting as a visit of a distinguished European Opera Company. Children were named, not Arthur and Eric, but Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Praise-God Barebone was a real character; a friend of mine has an ancestor named Maher-shalal-hash-baz,[2] and Macaulay's character "Bind-their-Kings-in-chains-and-their-nobles-in-fetters-of-iron Johnson, Sergeant in Ireton's Regiment," was a not too absurd satire.

There was a historical reason for this great difference between our neurotic and pleasure loving generation, and the weighty solid mind, the narrow and fierce fanaticism of the early 17th century. The Reformation was only a hundred years old in England. This had ploughed deep furrows in the soil of men's minds and filled them with the blood of martyrs. The Elizabethan compromise, the current Anglicanism, though probably giving average satisfaction, had set a current of controversy going which we know as the Puritan movement. Elaborate systems of thought had been worked out to compete with the system of Rome. Arminianism and Calvinism fought for men's souls; and the debate was not less keen than it is now on Tariffs or Prohibition.

Every point in faith or practice had to be deduced from the Bible, uncritically used. There had been translations into English before the Authorized Version of 1611, but at that date there must have occurred a large increase in popular circulation. That year was only as far from the young George Fox as the latest

[2]Isaiah VIII, 1–3.

work of Ruskin, Tennyson and Browning is from us. It was, as books went then, a new book; it was part of, indeed nearly the whole of, current literature, and it was eagerly read. Oliver once took Lambert into one of the corridors of the House of Commons, and walked about for an hour with him discussing a Psalm.

British foreign policy was concerned with Holland and Spain and the Thirty Years' War; and so was due to religion, not to race, monarchy, trade, or Empire. At home the nation had drawn the sword for Parliamentary control of the Government, but the reason they cared so much about it was that the dominance of Archbishop Laud or the Puritans was at issue.

It was, then to a public mind full of religion, but otherwise dull and ungarnished, that George Fox came.

But his Gospel was being awaited in an even more definite way. The established religion was alloyed with secular interests, engaged in a struggle for outward power, and corrupted by long wars. Moreover, it was based on a God of external terrors, revealed as unerringly in the Old Testament as in the New. In Cromwell's "Soldier's Bible," a selection for the pocket, I only found one text from the New Testament.

But there are to be found everywhere souls naturally religious, made for fellowship with God, guided by His inward Voice, and living in the Real Presence. These are the Mystics, and their presence in a nation or a church is rarely wanting. They are generally members of churches, or have passed through the outer courts of external observance before they found their way to the Holy of Holies within.

The English Mystics of the time were found in a few scattered congregations, meeting as Seekers, with some affinity to Ranters and Baptists. There was therefore a large place of service for a man great enough to be accepted as their leader, and strong and tough enough to batter the strongholds of the clerical churches in the "Apostasy." The time and the man had come. Something has gone from the nation, in England and America. I cannot conceive my friends the farmers of the Cumberland and Westmorland valleys, going on a mission to found, in Bristol and in London, and beyond the seas, the most enduring mystical com-

munity in history. They can hardly be got to read a book, or go to a lecture, or even attend Church. Yet they came in their thousands to lonely places like Pardshaw or Langlands or Firbank Fell to hear George Fox. We need the historical imagination.

2. The Minds of Friends.

We now turn from their environment to the minds of the Friends themselves.

We rightly think of George Fox as, in most ways, a strikingly modern man, and are fond of pointing out how the early Quaker principles have been caught up by the flight of time. Their view of the Scriptures, formulated by Robert Barclay, as being an authority second to spiritual intuition, but valuable in general as a good test to try doctrines and practices—this is now generally held. It was a serious matter to them, not a mere theory. For they established the Ministry of Women and denied Predestination in clear-eyed defiance of the authority of Paul. In refusing both Sacraments, they appeared to be disobeying two passages from our Lord Himself. In testifying against Bishops and Deacons they were apparently abandoning the practice of the Early Church. Modern scholarship has abundantly justified their daring intuition.

They were strikingly modern, too, in having awakened to social reform. That is a great concern now of all good men and a commonplace in Parliaments and governments. But I cannot find much in English History and Literature on which George Fox could have modelled his pleas for a living wage and the abolition or narrow restriction of capital punishment, or a fixed price and the abolition of haggling in shops. The helpless revolts of the poor had been quenched in blood.

My readers will kindly remember these large things, if I lead them to dwell on certain smaller ones, strange to us.

Their Bible education and their reverence for it led them into unfortunate eccentricities. They were not sufficiently emancipated from it, though they were accused as a quite central offence of being latitudinarian unbelievers in it. I will deal with five of these strange habits of mind.

I. They copied the fasting common in the Bible, and believed that to deny food to the body was a means of bringing blessing. This practice they merely shared with everyone else—but one would have expected them to have abandoned this with other externals. They had much to say against the formally proclaimed fasts. George Fox wrote a long document in 1656 about the public fast against the Vaudois persecution. His objection was not to fasting but to the inconsistency of persecuting Friends and yet supporting the Vaudois in their sufferings for conscience sake.

In 1659 Parliament proposed to hold a fast "to declare against erroneous opinions and practices" of Friends and others. This Fox likens in a long paper to the fast Jezebel arranged as an opportunity for the murder of Naboth—a very brilliant parallel.[3] He also notices that when the New Englanders were going to hang a Friend they appointed a fast day for the execution.

But personal, voluntary fasts were quite different. James Nayler was under a fast for fourteen days at Swarthmoor.[4] Shortly afterwards George Fox at the same place was under a fast himself "until this work of God was accomplished,"[5] that is, his first trial at Lancaster in 1652, which turned into a triumph through the help of Judge Fell. The same year Richard Hubberthorne "was in a great fast and afterwards was very weak insomuch as people thought he was dead, and several Friends were sent for, and before they got to him the Lord's power had so raised him that they met him with a bottle going for water to drink, so that Friends did admire at the wonderful power and work of God therein."[6] One may well feel that the vitality was God's vitality and gift; but not His the starvation. In 1653 George Fox was in a ten days' fast at and about Swarthmoor, during which time he prophesied that before two weeks the Rump Parliament would be expelled by Oliver Cromwell, "and the Speaker should be plucked out of his Chair." News of the event reached Swarthmoor in two weeks.[7]

[3] I Kings XXI, 9.
[4] *Camb. Journal,* 1:51.
[5] *Camb. Journal,* 1:72.
[6] *Camb. Jour.,* 1:105.
[7] *Camb. Jour.,* 1:107.

In a letter of William Caton's, 23 Oct. 1659, we read:[8]

"Friends here are well, and great and marvellous is the work of the Lord in this family, where several have been exercised and yet are in fasting. Bridget Fell fasted twelve days. Isabel hath fasted about seven and is to fast nine, little Mary hath fasted five, and a little maid that is a servant in the house hath fasted twenty. And one Mary Atkinson of Cartmel hath fasted above twenty, and two more in this family are exercised in the same thing, (probably himself) and blessed be the Lord, they are and have been generally wonderfully preserved, and some of them are come very well through it, and others are kept in the faith and patience, and all is pretty well, blessed be the Lord."

This letter has been preserved by George Fox with his endorsement, "how the children fasted." "Little Mary" would be twelve years old. When she was eight she wrote to Priest Lampitt as follows:—

"Lampitt the plaiges of God shall fall upon thee, and the seven viols shall be powerd upon thee and the milstone shall fall upon thee and crush thee as dost under the lord's feete, how can thou escape the damnation of hell. This did the Lord give me as I lay in bed Mary ffell."

This is also endorsed by Fox and is on a scrap of paper 6½ inches by 2½ inches in Devonshire House, brown with age.[9]

Swarthmoor seems to have been the centre of this practice, and it is nearly all confined to the earliest days. Most of the cases are omitted by the judicious Thomas Ellwood in his quieter day. The children in 1659 were imitating what they had seen their elders do in their early years. In 1659 we find Fox counting fasting, in a letter to Papists, along with prayer and praise.[10] There is only one case recorded later, that of the strange man Solomon Eccles who fasted seven days on the voyage to Barbados in 1671. He neither ate nor drank nor went to bed all that time. He moistened his mouth with a little vinegar. He was, of course, an accredited official companion of George Fox and others on that voyage.

[8]Dev. Ho. *Swarthmore Coll.* IV, 267, found by W. C. Braithwaite.
[9]Swarthmore MSS., VII, 24. See *Camb. Jour.*, 1:439n.
[10]*Camb. Jour.*, 1:329–331.

II. From the Bible also Friends learnt the habit of making themselves a Sign in their own persons.

Thomas Aldam, a quite leading Friend of the earliest band, was moved to take his cap from off his head and rend it to pieces before Oliver Cromwell, to tell him that power should be rent from him (1655).[11]

In 1659 a woman took a pitcher and broke it in pieces before Parliament as a sign that they should be broken in pieces.[12]

Solomon Eccles marched through Smithfield naked with a pan of burning coals and brimstone on his head. At the time of the Plague, in which he lost his wife, he marched through the dreadful deserted streets denouncing the sins of the city. Once he sat down as a shoemaker on a communion table. He had been a successful teacher of music, but on his convincement he burnt his valuable books and costly instruments on Tower Hill.[13]

A Friend named Huntington went into Carlisle Cathedral in a white sheet representing a surplice with a halter round his neck.[14]

Richard Sale, the Chester constable, carried a lantern and candle into church to show how dark it was. He was put into that narrow rock niche at Chester gaol called Little Ease, and crushed so that he died.[15]

Thomas Abbott came up from Hunts before the fire of London, and scattered his money up and down the streets, turning his horse loose, and untied his breeches knees, letting his stockings fall, and unbuttoned his doublet—as a sign of what they would do in the panic of the fire. Both George Whitehead and William Penn were impressed by this sign.[16]

In 1660 Elizabeth Adams rode through Canterbury at midday with a burning torch in her hand, and that cathedral city made an uproar.[17]

This is not by any means a complete list of varied signs. Unfortunately Isaiah went three years naked and barefoot as a sign.[18] This, just because of its painful nature, took hold on a good many

[11] *Camb. Jour.*, 1:342 and 459n.
[12] *Camb. Jour.*, 1:342.
[13] *Camb. Jour.*, 2:428.
[14] *Camb. Jour.*, 2:2.
[15] *Camb. Jour.*, 2:2.
[16] *Camb. Jour.*, 2:90 and n.
[17] Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 216n.
[18] Isaiah XX; see also Micah I, 8. It may have meant dressed only in a shirt like a captive.

of the prophetic Friends of those days, in the ardour of their self-abnegation. A horrid idea came into some minds that this unwelcome duty might be called for at their hands. One can imagine how it would be put away, and how the putting of it away might be felt to be an unfaithfulness, and how it would return. The tendency of whatever you strongly combat to return upon you is a noticeable fact used by M. Coué and insisted upon by his colleague M. Baudouin. It is better to try to forget it than to fight it, if you can, as with temptations in general. Robert Barclay describes how the idea that he should that day go through the streets of Aberdeen in sackcloth and ashes, seized him one morning. After a worrying struggle just like this, the young Laird of Ury gave up to do it one day in 1672.[19]

This sign of nakedness began in 1652 at Ulverston, again in the Swarthmoor region. Eight cases occurred in the Westmorland district in 1653 and 1654. One of the most conspicuous cases was that of William Sympson who practised it all over England, including Cambridge and London, in Oliver's time, for three years, just as Isaiah did. He sometimes varied it by wearing sackcloth and ashes, just as the Jews did. He was often beaten and pricked with thorn bushes. He came from a quiet little stone farmhouse close to Sunbreak Burial Ground, where Margaret Fox and many ancient Friends are buried. It is a mile or two beyond Swarthmoor Hall. It stands on a steep edge overlooking the sea far below, across which at low tide runs the way across the sands to Lancaster and the great world.

It is strange that so much zeal and tragedy should have come from that quiet haunt of hens and ducks. William Sympson only lived to about 43, and no wonder. He died in Barbados, and there the farmer from Sunbreak lies buried. Sunbreak is on the hilltop where the sun of dawn first broke in the Eastern sky. There his light broke upon him, and closed after a day of storm in the far off island in the West.

The worst tragedy was when this weird call came to women. Poor little Elizabeth Fletcher, the modest girl from Kendal, "of a considerable family in the world," a child of 16 or 17, was so

[19]*Barclay's Works,* 105–108; Braithwaite, *Second Period,* 339.

filled with the idea of sacrifice that she must needs make herself a sign in this way, in Oxford of all places in the world, among the black tribe of scholars. She and Elizabeth Leavens preached in the colleges. The two girls were dragged through a dirty pool, put under a pump and water pumped into their mouths. Elizabeth, being thrown backwards over a gravestone, or (in Croese's account) laid into an empty grave, was permanently injured, and died at the age of twenty, having preached in Ireland and Cheshire all her remaining days. I always feel a sort of personal grief over that "modest little girl," perhaps because Kendal is one of my home towns, and I can imagine so easily the Oxford scene.[20]

Two cases, both of women, occurred in New England towards the latter part of the persecution there, which was bad enough to upset any one's sanity. One was in a church at Newbury, the other in the streets of Salem, in 1664 and 1665.

Fox and leaders like James Nayler, Richard Farnsworth and Thomas Ellwood,[21] defended this practice. A Friend at Oxford asked the sanction of the meeting, and then Friends walked with him carrying his clothes. They reverenced individual conviction and pure-minded sacrifice, however morbid. Fox, who stopped many "Whimseys" could have stopped this, if he had thought it right. But it began in his very young early days, when he may not yet have reached a position of authority. But he thoroughly approved of it and noted with satisfaction[22] that "many" Friends did it both in the Protector's and the King's time. William Lowther writes from Yorkshire to the Secretary of State in 1661—"In all the great towns Quakers go naked on Market Days through the town crying 'Woe to Yorkshire.'" This is probably exaggerated. An instance occurred at Skipton at the time of the first Yearly Meeting for business there in 1660[23] and the man was beaten and came to Fox all bloody.

George Whitehead, that careful and judicious Friend, leader

[20]The best account is in Mabel Brailsford's *Quaker Women,* a first rate history, not well enough known; also Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism,* 158.

[21]*Camb. Jour.,* 1:462.

[22]*Camb. Jour.,* 2:90 (in 1664).

[23]Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism,* 335.

of a respectable Yearly Meeting, after George Fox's death, writes in 1725: "As to going naked, it has been no general practice; it was but very few many years since—though I cannot excuse every one in that case to have a Divine call. Yet I believe some cases were called to be such signs and wonders to the world." A truly episcopal utterance, with a little pat for both sides. Joseph Besse, in his "Sufferings" in 1738 is content to describe it is an unusual Testimony. There is a faint Quaker touch of disapproval in the adjective. Perhaps my Quaker disapproval may be gently conveyed in the words, "We would have had it otherwise."[24]

III. Another troublesome habit taken from the phraseology of the Bible was the adoption of the epithets of whoredom, for religious communion which they considered illegitimate, like that of the other churches. Hosea, Micah, Ezekiel, make this their staple vocabulary, and so does the writer of the central passage of the Book of Revelation, about the Scarlet Woman. George Fox's "Mistery of the Great Whore," and Isaac Penington's "Babylon the Great Described" are only two conspicuous writings out of many which cannot conveniently be read aloud. The replies by opponents cultivate the same style.

IV. From the Bible also the early Friends learnt the strange idea of God that is behind the numerous judgments upon persecutors which disfigure the Great Journal. If God made miraculous arrangements to punish persecutors by loathsome deaths, or the loss of wife or child, or by monstrous births in their family,[25] or by other calamities, would it not have been better to interfere earlier and prevent the persecution altogether, instead of allowing the suffering and taking a futile revenge? The Old Testament Prophets are full of that idea of God.

We find an official query:—"What signal judgments have come upon persecutors?" This was dropped in 1701, for persecution had ceased. Other Journals, besides that of Fox, record them. Materials were not wanting, for calamities fall upon all men, or

[24]The subject is fully treated by Norman Penney in a supplement to *First Publishers of Truth.*

[25]*Camb. Jour.*, 1: 260.

nearly all. But it shows a remnant of human nature lurking in sanctified souls, to count up these troubles. Would that James Nayler, that wonderfully forgiving, greatly suffering, spirit, or the loving heart of William Dewsbury, had found it right to plead against it. Even Joseph Besse continues to record judgments.

Speaking from memory of William Penn's works I do not recollect that there is a judgment mentioned in his million and a quarter words. There are not less than fifty or sixty in George Fox.

One concerns a troublesome Friend named Richard Myer of Arnside, whose arm George Fox had healed. "The Lord commanded him to go to York, but he disobeyed the Lord, and the Lord struck him again so as he died about three quarters of a year after." The lapse of months does not seem to weaken the sequence.[26]

Some "convinced" soldiers took the oath to Oliver Protector in 1653, were sent to Scotland and shot there by their friends by mistake. A butcher who used to put his tongue out at Friends died from having his tongue so swollen that he could not get it in again. There are two cases of this type.[27] There is a terrible paragraph in the Journal, recounting a series of five judgments round Swarthmoor, written by Bridget Fell in 1660.[28] "A book of examples was set out of what sudden and strange deaths happened upon the persecution of the innocent."[29] We may be glad that "posterity,"—whoever that may be—has not thought it worth preserving. I should have been glad to have George Fox's little book of miracles, however—which was in existence when he made his will.

It revolts one to hear that the death of Barbara the wife of the great persecutor in Westmorland, Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal, leaving fourteen motherless children, was a judgment. We have a letter in the State Papers from the bereaved husband.

May we be guided in our day to purge our thought of God of all unworthiness.

[26] *Camb. Jour.*, 1:108.
[27] *Camb. Jour.*, 1:149,348.
[28] *Camb. Jour.*, 1:383.
[29] *Camb. Jour.*, 1:460.

V. Elijah caused and ultimately relieved a three years' drought in the time of Ahab.

George Fox seems to have believed that drought could be saved by joining Friends. His idea of God must have been kept curiously separate from the living Christ within.

"There was a great drought,[30] but after a large General Meeting at Frandley in Cheshire there was a mighty rain which extended so far as Friends had come; but Wales was still all dust. "It was a noted thing generally amongst people that when I came still I brought rain and it had been so for many years" (1657). The Protector ordered a fast for rain in 1654; but "as far as truth had spread in the north there was rain, whereas in the south they were almost spoiled for want of it." So Fox wrote an answer to the Protector promising rain if he would own God's truth. The drought was a sign of the barrenness of the water of life. Beyond the seas, Fox says, people know they will have rain in drought when Friends have general meetings, and "as they receive the truth and become fruitful unto God they receive from Him their fruitful seasons also."

This is pure paganism and a grievous and anomalous intrusion into the greatness of the Quaker message.

There is one amusing case of working out numerically the measurements of the New Jerusalem in Rev. XXI, 16, in length and width and height twelve thousand furlongs. But there is one version of it as "twelve twelve thousand"—presumably a copyist's error. By taking this and confusing linear measurement with cubic, circumference with volume, George Fox and his learned friends Richard Richardson and John Stubbs came to the conclusion that the circumference of the city was ten times that of the earth. This occurs at a part of the Journal where incoherence and the visions of delirium during the illness at Enfield in 1670–1671 are to be found.[31]

The wonderful thing is that with this contemporary view of the Book of Revelation from which George Fox could not escape, his mighty intuition saved him from Bibliolatry so completely as it did.

[30] *Camb. Jour.*, 1:273.

[31] *Camb. Jour.*, 2:170. A scrap in the handwriting of Richard Richardson.

3. The Spiritual Awakening.

We will now pass with deep relief from the eccentricities and seventeenth century limitations of our Founders to some attempt to realize the almost unbelievable spiritual awakening which they record. Probably most of us have never had anything resembling it in our experience and our historical imagination has not much to build upon. But we must try.

Edward Burrough, from the lovely cliff-bordered valley of Underbarrow, crossed on the way from Kendal to Swarthmoor, extending from the Lake district mountains to the sands of Morecambe Bay, a lad of 18 turned out by his parents—done to death in Newgate at 28, and compressing into those ten years the life work of a religious genius—Edward Burrough writes of their early day:—

"We met together often and waited upon the Lord in pure silence, from our own words and all men's words, and hearkened unto the voice of the Lord, and felt His word in our hearts to burn up and beat down all that was contrary to God; and we obeyed the Light of Christ in us and took up the cross to all earthly glories, crowns and ways, and denied ourselves, our relations, and all that stood in the way betwixt ourselves and the Lord. And while waiting upon the Lord in silence, as often we did for many hours together, we received often the pouring down of the spirit upon us—and our hearts were made glad and our tongues loosed and our mouths opened—and the glory of the Father was revealed; and then began we to sing praises to the Lord God Almighty and to the Lamb forever, who had redeemed us out of the captivity and bondage of the world, and put an end to sin and death—and all this was by, and through and in the Light of Christ within us.[32]

He turns with joy to these early days when, in 1655, he was the great popular preacher in London. He thinks fondly of his quiet beautiful valley,

"O thou North of England, who art counted as desolate and barren, and reckoned the least of the nations, yet out of thee did

[32]Epistle prefixed to Fox's "Great Mistery," 1659. Quoted in Braithwaite, *Beginnings,* 130.

the branch spring and the star arise which gives light to all the regions round about: in thee the Son of Righteousness appeared with wounding and with healing.—Out of thee Kings, princes, and prophets did come forth in the name and power of the most High, which uttered their voices as thunders and laid their swords on the necks of their enemies and never returned empty from the slaughter.[33]

Mary Dyer, comely matron, walking to the gallows in Boston street, having marched, clear eyed, into the wild beasts' den, hand in hand with two young men, Marmaduke Stevenson and William Robinson, replied to the Marshal's reproof: "No this is an hour to me of the greatest joy I ever had in this world: no ear can hear, no tongue can utter and no heart can understand, the sweet incomes or influence and refreshings of the spirit of the Lord which now I feel."

Such is the glory that may come to the victorious spirit of Man.

The exceeding happiness which William Dewsbury, Mary Dyer, Marmaduke Stevenson and others, tell of in prison—their joy in the Lord, requires a strong effort to realize in imagination. I could not have believed so easily in the overcoming power of the Spirit had not ordinary young fellows in the C. O. persecution felt the same. But they did not usually have or keep the beatific vision. I was among them once or twice a week for two years in the gaol at Manchester, and knew much of other gaols. Endurance under deep discouragement, a grim determination to stick it out, was the usual attitude of their minds. Doubtless that must have been pretty common also in the dreadful gaols of the 17th century. Nevertheless much to the contrary has been recorded.

In 1657, a little ship, the Woodhouse, had sailed from Southampton to New Amsterdam and thence to Rhode Island, under Robert Fowler, a sea captain certainly, but one who "minded neither latitude nor longitude," but relied on the Divine leading, given in fellowship meetings day by day. They saw "the Lord leading their vessel, as it were a man leading a horse by the head." They were bidden to cease to keep south and turn north for a day. At the end of that time as the eleven Friends sat waiting upon

[33] *Works* p. 66. Braithwaite, *Beginnings,* 514.

the Lord, land was seen, the entrance to the modern New York Harbour. This is Robert Fowler's own log.[34] Make what you can of it.

The experiences of the First Publishers of Truth at Bristol are wonderful to tell, only a little more remarkable than the first ingathering in London.

In September, 1654, John Camm and John Audland from Preston Patrick near Kendal, invaded Bristol, where a strong body of Seekers was ready for them. These people used to spend a whole day together once a week in prayers and fasting, one long meeting of silence broken by the prayers that arose. When Friends got to their work, John Audland wrote that each day was but one meeting, and the power in them was greater than they had ever known. The people groaned to be delivered, and followed Friends if they went into the fields for quietness. If Friends sat long in silence, so did the people. John Camm wrote that their meetings began at six in the morning; the people came before they were up, and stayed till eleven at night or one in the morning. If they entered a house it was filled with people at once. On the first Sunday the two Friends had got away into the country to a spring of water, and had some hours of silent gathering of spirit. Then travail of spirit took hold of them, and John Audland said, trembling, "Let us be going into the city." They got the use of a field, all houses being too small. Audland arose: "all my limbs smote together and I was like a drunken man because of the Lord." One present says he stood up "full of dread and shining brightness on his countenance"—transfigured.

They said that they mostly had, when they became known, from three to four thousand at a Meeting.[35]

Few bodies of people can, I think, have such a mass of accurate contemporary records as Friends have. It should not be impossible for us to recall those gaunt prophets who stalked through the land, and those women with their high trebles who sat singing in the stocks, in that most religious England of the 17th century.

[34]Bowden, *History of Friends in America, I, 63-67.*
[35]Braithwaite, *Beginnings,* 165–9.

A MAP OF THE PATHS OF LIFE.

(See Frontispiece.)

This Quaker allegory, on lines suggesting John Bunyan, was presented to the Friends' Historical Association by our late friend and member, Henry B. Abbott, of Philadelphia. It has been ascribed to George Dillwyn (1738–1820). As he and his wife, Sarah (Hill) Dillwyn had no child, it is more likely to have been the work of his brother William, (1743–1824). William Dillwyn possessed the pen and pencil of an artist. His beautiful copper-plate hand is in evidence on many official Quaker documents, and a plan and sketch of the old meeting house in Burlington is in possession of Burlington Monthly Meeting, New Jersey.

George and William Dillwyn were sons of John (1693–1748) and Susanna Painter Dillwyn. Sarah, wife of George, was daughter of Dr. Richard Hill, of Madeira. He was an eminent preacher. William married, 1st. Sarah Logan, daughter of John Smith, Jr. and granddaughter of James Logan of Stenton. Their only child, Susanna (1769–1819), married Samuel Emlen, Jr. William married 2nd., Sarah, daughter of Lewis Weston, of Walthamstow, England, where he remained a resident for the rest of his life. There was much intercourse between the relatives on each side of the Atlantic.

These lighter touches, while instructive in themselves, are also of value in that they show us glimpses of the social life of a bygone day. There are many bright letters, verses and more serious poems and sketches by eminent worthies, which are in possession of our members; is it not as much a duty as it would be a pleasure to allow these to see the light of day once more?

Amelia Mott Gummere.

A DESCRIPTION OF A MAP OF THE PATHS OF LIFE IN A LETTER FROM PARENTAL CARE HALL.

Dear Children:

As you are about leaving my house to enter on the Paths of Life, and if my days are lengthened to many years I cannot always be with you, I therefore desire you to attend to the Sketch I have made of the various

paths to Happiness; that being generally the pursuit of everyone, though many miss attaining it, even in old age, by not taking heed to their steps.

Even those who set out well in life, and walk by Direction Gate to Love Learning Garden, are not always safe. Particular care should be taken to avoid Novel Flower Bed, which leads to Levity Walks, etc., and many who get there forget to return, but meeting gay company on the Green, pass on to Vanity Fair.

Even those who avoid Novel Flower Bed, get into Knowledge Pasture, and produce some fruits from Ingenuous Orchard and reach Promotion Mount; but stopping at Flatterer's Haunt or Gull Inn, they frequently get to Bragington, and so on to Vanity Fair.

In passing through Prudent Walks, we should visit Alarm Tower to be enabled to tread with safety the paths that lead to the Temple of Fame. Many a young tradesman has arrived at the Temple and yet missed of Esteem Hall by not keeping a guard over his appetite he has gone to Feasting Hall and from there to other difficult situations, and though many are in Perplexity Parish, they will go to Decoy Theatre, and Spend-thrift Ordinary, which leads to Gamblers' Hotel, over Winning Down, by Loosing Vale, by Needy Maze, to Misery Square.

Thus some who set out well in life, have got into Knaves Lure, and in great danger of going to Forgers' Hole, to Detection Crevice, and to the great grief of their parents and friends, they have been brought into Conviction Court, sent to Dungeon Bottom, and narrowly escaped going to Gallows' Hill.

Thus we see it requires watchfulness, even at the Temple of Fame, to arrive at the Temple of Honor, but to arrive at Happy Old Age Hall, we must go over many Noble Deeds Plains, and frequently take refreshments in Devotion Grove, etc.

Some who have passed from Love Learning Garden over Manly Hill to Many Friends City have been so off their guard in passing through Temptation Gateway, as to step into Alluring Bower, and so on to Dangerous Seat; but remembering the city they had lately left, and their many Friends, though ashamed to go back again, they desire to leave their follies and seek a Mending Quarter, while others are half between two opinions, and stay too long in Faltering Alley; but taking a Good Resolve, they pass the Turnstile with ease, and go straightway down Bear Cross Road to Weeping Shade. Here their minds having gained some relief, they carefully ascend the adjoining Hill, which affords a lively prospect of their going to Sure Direction Foot Path, that leads to Persevering Level, near Humility Dale, to partake of the sweet waters of Cheering Spring that run at the foot of Thankful Heart Rock, in Humble District, enjoying the pleasures of traveling in Liberty Plains, and frequently ascending Mount Praise; exhaling the sweets of Fragrant Vale, they enter Peaceful Mind Bower, and repose in Happy Old Age Hall.

Others who have attained a residence in Many Friends City, and as tradesmen much esteemed for their industry and sobriety, have passed Temptation Gateway, got into Great Bargain Court, but upon coming to Risk Lane they have left Steady Plains, and trodden the paths of Imprudence County. Having passed near Fear Naught Gully, they take what is called a Luck Leap, but as their gains are sometimes the loss of others, they are obliged to stop awhile at Litigation Thicket, and frequently bewildered in a lawsuit at Litigation Thicket, when some are brought to Recollection Meads and Pausing at Thoughtful Gap, they at length pass Do Better Turnstile and ascent Mount Recovery, on the high road to Happy Old Age Hall. But many go from Litigation Thicket into Quibble Gap, there hold the profits of Great Bargain Court, with assistance of the inhabitants of Bribery Byway. This leads them to Selfish Hole, in Self's Own Corner; they pass much of their time on Hard Hearted Crag and grovel among the briers and thorns on No Charity Common, and through a very narrow place; such are the stupefying effects of the atmosphere of Self's Corner, that many spend much of their time on this narrow common before they get to Wealthsburg; and when there, the minds of the inhabitants are so full of fears, doubts and mistrust, that they pass by Noble Deeds Plains, and regardless of Public Spirit Highway, and the Temple of Honor, seek for peace and safety in Miser's Castle, daily visiting Lock and Bolt Cellar, and nightly watching in Sleepless Chamber, yet, so desirous are they of keeping all to themselves and that they may not be at the trouble of denying the necessitous and importunate who once remembered them in Many Friends City, they get into Skulkers' Niche and go into Thieves' Entry, robbing themselves of the comforts of this life and making fearful waste of their property by keeping it in Lock and Bolt Cellar.

Thus some pass many years neither loving nor beloved of men till they creep to No Friend Desert, and after a time drop down Fear Death Precipice, and getting their feet entangled in Dismal Swamp, they struggle in Agony Whirlpool, and so fond have some been of their gold, that in this situation they would have taken it with them, but getting on Sinking Sands their eyes became dim, their limbs enfeebled, to return they were not able, and their Gold could not relieve them from the dangers of the Bottomless Pit.

I have before informed you of some that took up residence at Vanity Fair. Well,—I have seen those at Merry Hall in the evening, but at Sorrow Chamber in the morning, and in the cool of the day, they have peeped forth from Pausing Window, and seeing the dangers they were exposed to, they have got into Mending Quarter by Break Away Backdoor, and pursued the paths already described; but others who have made a pause and looked about them, have stayed too long in Saunter Street, slept at Idleman's corner on False Rest Common; thus have they gone from Mending Quarter, by many broad ways to Gluttonsbury, ventured on Gaming Quicksands, hurried down to Bankrupt and Penniless Points in Poverty

Maze, going to Misery Square through Wretch's Pit, to Remorse Hedge. Another opportunity now offers of mending their ways, for should they be wise enough to go by Penitent's Pass, they may enter by Wondrous Mercy Gate and at last repose in Peaceful Mind Bower, in the vicinity of Happy Old Age Hall.

I have hitherto spoken of such as go by Direction Gate. I am now to caution you against leaving my house as some have left their parents, by a Careless Backway and traversed among crooked and strange paths, the very names of which, viewing them on the Map, will, I hope, deter you from entering therein.

A Parent.

Note: The late Rachel H. Roberts who deceased at Moorestown, N. J., in the year 1881, in the 91st year of her age, said that, in her childhood, a copy of this map hung in her father's house.

The map has a few slight errors, the Path to Mending Quarters should be from "Pausing Window" and not from Sorrow Chamber; it should not be "Pausing Gateway."

Gallows Hill should be a small hill to the right of the path with a slight gibbet on it.

Henry B. Abbott.

Philadelphia, Pa.
1st Month, 1921.

THE NORSE-AMERICAN CENTENNIAL.

By Henry J. Cadbury, Ph. D., of Harvard University.

In the year 1825 a little sloop named *Restaurationen*[1] brought the first group of emigrants from Norway to the United States. This event is commonly regarded as marking the era from which Norwegians in America date their history. Accordingly in 1925 the various clans organized a national celebration, which took place at the State Fair Grounds, Minnesota, June 6th–9th. President Coolidge attended and gave an address. The government further recognized the occasion by issuing two special stamps (2 and 5 cents) marked "Norse–American Centennial 1825–1925." Other organizations have held appropriate proceedings. The Norwegian Lutheran Church in America, now happily united, issued a memorial volume, *History of the Norwegian People in America* (Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis) under the able editorship of Prof. O. M. Norlie of Luther College, Decorah, Iowa. Considerable notice also has been given the event by

[1]The final "en" corresponds to the English definite article, "the." A translation of "Restaurationen" would therefore be "The Restoration."

Americans of Norwegian descent, who are now said to number over two million. Less notice of the event has been taken in Norway. Stavanger, from which the first emigrant company came, had on hand a much older anniversary, the founding of an episcopal see in 1125. (See the volume, *Stavanger 1125–1425–1925,* Stavanger, 1925.) The Society of Friends has not celebrated the event.

The Quaker share in this anniversary was not to be guessed from any Quaker histories, but has become clear as a result of researches converging in this centennial. At the request of the editor of the BULLETIN a few bibliographical references to this recent and fugitive literature are here offered, but nothing further since a more extensive attempt to rewrite this chapter in Quaker history has been attempted elsewhere. It is hoped that some of the more interesting documents that have come to light can be offered to readers of the BULLETIN, and that still further information may be gleaned and published from Quaker records in Stavanger, London, New York or Illinois, or from original Quaker MS. journals (e. g. of Stephen Grellett, William Allen and Thomas Shillitoe if they are in existence).

The beginnings of Quakerism in Norway and the thirty years of persecution that followed were well told on the basis of original documents, some still in Friends Reference Library, London, by George Richardson in his *Rise and Progress of the Society of Friends in Norway* (London, 1849). The romantic story of the conversion to Quakerism of Norwegian prisoners in prison ships on the Thames had been published earlier in the anonymous pamphlet, *An Account of a Religious Society in Norway called Saints.... also Some Interesting Particulars relating to Several Prisoners on Board a Danish Sloop who were Convinced of the Principles of Friends from the year 1812 to 1814* (London, 1814). Much accurate information on the Friends and their persecution is contained in the royal archives of the church department of the Norwegian Government at Christiania (Oslo). These were used by the Professor A. Seierstad of Oslo, who gives an account of Friends in Norway in his *Kyrkjelegt Reformarbeidi, Norig i Nittande Hundreaaret,* (Bergen, 1923), pp. 219–254.[2] From these archives for example have been obtained as signatories to petitions several lists of Friends at Stavanger (not published). In 1845 a commission of the Storthing that had been appointed to investigate the causes of the increasing emigration from Norway made its report which is printed in the official proceedings. This and the unpublished materials still in the archives at Oslo upon which it was based explain the conditions which led the Quakers to emigrate while letters from the emigrants (the so-called America Letters) illustrate conditions Norwegians must meet in the New

[2]This account and a contemporary description of Friends by Priest Swenson printed in the appendix are of especial interest to Friends. But the book is written in *laandsmaal* which merely adds to the difficulties of readers who do not find the classical Norwegian any too easy.

World. A short account of these was published by T. C. Blegen of the Minnesota Historical Society in *Minnesota History,* Vol. VI, No. 2 (June, 1925).

From the start the Norwegian Quaker movement was under the care of the London Friends Meeting for Sufferings. The first convincements were due to Quaker books in Danish distributed among the prisoners by a committee appointed for that purpose in 1808. Ten years later William Allen and Stephen Grellet visited Norway and assisted the Friends at Stavanger to establish a two-months meeting there. The report of this was sent to the Meeting for Sufferings. To judge from Anna Littleboy's article in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* (First Month 1919) on "Quaker Embassies a Century Ago" the records of this body and especially of its Committee on Translations and its Continental Committee must have contained considerably more information than has been published. (See also Richardson, p. xii, last sentence.)

The leader of the sloop party, Lars Larson, was particularly close to English Friends. After his release in 1814 he was in England with William Allen's mother for some months and named for her his oldest child, born on the *Restaurationen.* He knew English better than the other Friends at Stavanger, and acted as interpreter to Thomas Shillitoe, who visited them in 1822. Little new information about him has been gathered from either Quaker or Norwegian sources. His significance for the history of the migration was entirely missed by former Quaker historians. Richardson mentions him by name but not his migration. In 1917 John Cox, Jr., chairman of the Joint Committee on Records of the Religious Society of Friends in New York, published without comment in the *Friends' Intelligencer* (Vol. 74, p. 5) from the minutes the certificate of membership which he brought from Stavanger to Rochester. In the current year, however, our friend John Cox recognizing the historical importance of such evidence has unearthed several other early references to "Norwegian Quakers in Western New York," which he has woven into an interesting article using some of the other available materials (*Friends' Intelligencer,* for Tenth Month 17 and 24, 1925). These records show that other members of the first party joined Friends in America, and that other Friends from Stavanger soon followed to New York. Through the kindness of John Cox, Jr. the present writer was furnished with copies of this material and was able to explain and present it to Norse-American readers in the columns of the *Decorah-Posten* (Decorah, Iowa, November 20, 1925) under the title "De f☒rste norske Kvækere i Amerika."

On the Norwegian side the pioneer work was published thirty years ago by a distinguished scholar and diplomat, Rasmus B. Anderson, in his *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1895). To this collection of living oral tradition all later writers are deeply indebted and many books have been issued both in Norwegian and in English. A series of centenary articles by R. B. Anderson in the newspaper *Skandinaven*

(Chicago) reprinted in book form as *Cleng Peerson og Sluppen Restaurationen* are merely a rearrangement of the same material in Norwegian, much as his article "Restaurationen—the Norse Mayflower," in the *American Scandinavian Review* for June 1925 covers similar ground in English. They must be named however among the anniversary literature.

The most extensive collection of new materials stands to the credit of a young man from St. Paul, Gunnar J. Malmin, who was sent to Scandinavia before the anniversary, partly under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, especially for this purpose. He made many researches in various places, including Stavanger, where he interviewed our friend Thorstein Bryne, and Oslo, where he investigated some of the official archives. Beginning November 14, 1924 *Decorah–Posten* (Decorah, Iowa), which is said to have the largest circulation of any Norwegian paper in the world, issued a series of articles from his pen. He found clearance papers at Stavanger for the sloop *Restaurationen,* and a Christiania newspaper reference to its departure, which unfortunately moves its date of sailing to July 5 instead of July 4 of tradition. He also collected several references to Friends and their treatment by the government. Of especial interest to Friends were four letters from Larson, his wife and daughter, written back to Stavanger from Rochester, N. Y., their new home, in 1837-8. These most illuminating documents have also been published in part in English in the *American Scandinavian Review* (June, 1925). They indicate the part the Quakers on both sides of the Atlantic played in furthering the second stage of immigration and besides are full of allusion to persons and to the divided state of the Society of Friends in America. Gunnar Malmin's first hand knowledge of these materials and his careful study of the whole subject as well as his point of view as one outside our Society make us hope that he will supply Friends with a revised narrative of the early history of Quakerism in Norway. Attention may be called also to articles by Gunnar Malmin and others in *Familiens–Magasin* (Minneapolis, September–October, 1925), where is published for the first time a letter from Henry Gahn, Swedish–Norwegian consul at New York in 1825, telling of the difficulties attending the arrival of the *Restaurationen.*

All the material above mentioned, Quaker and non-Quaker, Norwegian and English, together with other sources which are duly recorded, has been utilized by the present writer in an article in the *Harvard Theological Review* (Cambridge, Mass., October, 1925).[3] Substantially the same article in a less elaborately annotated form appeared in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* for the same month. A reprint of the Harvard Review article

[3]Copies of this article as a separate pamphlet may be had gratis from the author on application through the editor of the *Bulletin.* Perhaps reference may be made to a series of articles on the first Quakers of Stavanger to be published shortly in Decorah-Posten compiled by the present writer from all the biographical data available.

is to be included in the first volume (1926) of the *Norwegian American Year Book* published by the newly founded Norwegian–American Historical Society. A brief article, also by the present writer, in *The Friend* (Philadelphia. Tenth Month 1st, 1925) and a notice in *The Friend* (London, October 30, 1925) conclude the more recent notices of this centennial. The latter, availing itself of a privilege forbidden by law in America, offers in a cut a reproduction of the two-cent memorial U. S. stamp whose design includes a picture of the famous sloop. Some clear pictures of the Larsons are to be found in the issue of *American Scandinavian Review* mentioned above.

The immigrants of 1825 founded no Quaker meeting at Kendall, N. Y., where they first settled, nor have I yet been able to find any trace of affiliation with Friends at the Fox River settlement in Illinois to which most of them moved about ten years later. In Iowa, however, new waves of migration established a more enduring Norwegian Quakerism on this continent. Its links with the earlier migration have not been recovered entirely, but besides J. F. Hanson's *Light and Shade from the Land of the Midnight Sun* (Oskaloosa, Iowa, 1903) one may now consult an article "De norske Kvækere i Marshall Co., Iowa" in *Decorah–Posten,* November 7, 1924.

FRIENDS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

By Milton H. Hadley.

In going through the journals of the Revolutionary Committees of Safety, I have had occasion to note several items in regard to the attitude and conduct of the Quakers in the Revolution. The information given is from three colonies, that from Pennsylvania being omitted as it is more familiar to the average Quaker.[1] These colonies are New Hampshire, New Jersey and New York.

New York sent two hundred and twenty-four tories and disaffected to New Hampshire for confinement.[2] The latter made arrangements for them to be confined within six miles of Exeter, with the exception that "any of the above persons being of the society called Quakers (not of the number ordered to prison) observing the above caution [not to 'hurt the Interest of the States of America'] may go to the Towns of Dover, Hampton Falls, Seabrook & Kensington, if they think fit and take quarters with the People there of that Society."[3]

[1]See Isaac Sharpless, *History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania;* C. H. Lincoln, *Revolutionary Movement in Pennsylvania.* The *Penna. Magazine of History,* 15:264, shows where four Quakers resigned from the Bucks County Committee of Safety.

[2]*New Hampshire State Papers,* 8:381–4.

[3]*Ibid.,* 8:393–4.

Complying with the recommendation of the Continental Congress, New Hampshire had her men sign the Association, their resolution reading "We, the Subscribers, do hereby solemnly engage and promise, that we will, to the utmost of our Power, at the Risque of our Lives and Fortunes, with Arms, oppose the Hostile Proceedings of the British Fleets and Armies against the United American Colonies."[4] Out of 8,964 men of New Hampshire, 773 refused to sign. Of these 773, eighty-seven are definitely listed as Friends. Kensington gave fifteen names and added, "so far is Quakers as these two Collums. And what is to come your honours may call what you pleas."[5] Rochester reported that "the undernamed persons are of the Society of Friends and do not Choose to Sign"—listing twenty-two, most of whom are Tebbets and Meeders.[6] Forty-one Quakers of Weare refused to subscribe to the test.[7] If all the towns in which Quakers refused to sign had designated them, the list would undoubtedly be increased. However, members of the Society were probably not numerous in many towns.

The Committee of Safety of New York must have been exasperated at the independent ways of the Quakers. They asked for "a list of all the males belonging to their society, from the age of sixteen to sixty," which the "respectable" members of the Society refused to furnish.[8] The Quarterly Meeting at Oblong, Dutchess County, requested that the Test oath should not be administered before their next quarterly meeting, which the Committee refused.[9] The provincial body allowed Joseph Hunt, a Quaker, forty-five pounds for horses and sheep taken from him.[10] During the time that New York City was in danger, people were forbidden to go to Long Island without permission. A letter informed the Committee that "a number of Quakers, to the amount of twenty, have lately been to Long Island, without permission, to attend their annual meeting."[11] They were ordered seized and confined in the Fleet Prison at their own expense. This was on June 19th, 1777; August 5th, their case was taken up and it was ordered that they "be discharged from their confinement on taking an affirmation of allegiance to the State of New York, and paying all fees and expenses accrued or occasioned by their commitment and support."[12]

[4] *Ibid.*, 8:205f. Summary of statistics, 204, with the names of the signers and non-signers within the following ninety-two pages.

[5] *New Hampshire State Papers*, 8:245. [6] *Ibid.*, 8:276.

[7] *Ibid.*, 8:291. See also pages 235, 239, 272, and 286, for items which may refer to Friends, besides the five specifically named.

[8] *Journals of the Provincial Congress, Provincial Convention, Committee of Safety and Council of Safety of the State of New York*, 1:141, 1161, item 55.

[9] *Ibid.*, 1:779. [10] *Ibid.*, 1:807.

[11] *Journal New York Provincial Congress, etc.*, 1:972.

[12] *Ibid.*, 1:1027. Only six are named and there were petitions that only six be released, so we infer that only six were actually confined.

Many New Jersey Quakers took affirmations to the state,[13] and the Council of Safety allowed one who refused just seven days to get within the enemies lines.[14] The Council must have trusted the members of the Society, because at one time seven Friends were brought before it, and they refused to take the affirmation or give bond for their appearance at a later date. They were kept over night and the next day dismissed "on passing their Words to be forthcoming on Wednesday next."[15]

MARKING HISTORIC SITES IN PENNSYLVANIA.
(CONTINUED.)

The good work of marking historic sites is being continued under the leadership of Albert Cook Myers, Secretary of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission. The following record is supplemental to the list published in the last BULLETIN.

LAST HOME OF MARTIN CHARTIER, noted Indian trader and interpreter in early Pennsylvania and Maryland. This marker was unveiled 9 mo. 26, 1925, on the east bank of the Susquehanna River, in Washington Borough, Lancaster County.

PLAYWICKY INDIAN TOWN. The site of this town of the noted Chief Tammany was identified by Albert Cook Myers, as noted in the BULLETIN, 12 (1923) : 74. The marker was unveiled 10 mo. 17, 1925, in Southampton Township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, 18 miles northeast of Philadelphia, and two and a half miles west of Langhorne, on the south side of the road leading from the Old Buck Tavern at Feasterville to Langhorne.

INDIAN WALK MARKER. This third marker of the famous Walk was unveiled 10 mo. 23, 1925, in Springfield Township, Bucks County, a mile south-west of Springtown, on the road leading, *via* Leithsville and Hellertown, to Bethlehem. This is near the spot where Edward Marshall and his associated "walkers" (or runners, as it seemed to the Indians) lunched on the first day of the now famous journey.

THE GREAT TRAIL. This marker was unveiled 11 mo. 14, 1925, on the west side of the road at "Roslyn Farm," a quarter of a mile south of the State Normal School at West Chester. This is near the point where the Great Trail of the Minquas or Susquehanna Indians from the Susquehanna to the Schuylkill River crossed the present Wilmington Road.

GALLOWS HILL. This fourth marker of the Indian Walk is near the point where the "walkers" left the Old Durham Road and followed the well beaten Indian path. This marker was unveiled 11 mo. 21, 1925, at a place, locally known as Stony Point, in Springfield Township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, on the Old Durham Road, four miles north of the Harrow.

The above markers are large, native stones to which have been attached artistic and substantial bronze tablets designed by the architect, Paul P. Cret.

[13] *Minutes of the Council of Safety of New Jersey*, 1777, 8ff.
[14] *Ibid.*, 1777, 144.
[15] *Ibid.*, 1777, 175, 176.

DOCUMENTS

THE EXECUTION OF ABRAHAM CARLISLE AND JOHN ROBERTS.

The following is a reprint of an old manuscript (perhaps contemporary) sent to the Haverford College Library some years ago by Norman Penney, of Friends' Reference Library, London. For an account of the episode see Isaac Sharpless, *A Quaker Experiment in Government,* p. 192 f. See also reference to George Dillwyn on page 18, above; and to John Roberts on page 36, below.

As to the guilt or innocence of the two victims Isaac Sharpless says they "had disregarded the advice of their meetings and given active aid to the royal cause."

The executions took place after the British army evacuated Philadelphia, in 1778.

An interesting relation respecting Abraham Carlisle and John Roberts, the two Friends who by unjust men were condemned to death, in America, for shewing the British army (by compulsion) where to cross a River:

George Dillwyn with sundry other Friends visited them in the course of their confinement while under condemnation. A. C. appeared at first greatly afflicted and could not get into a state of resignation till near his end. J. R. was favoured to attain that very desirable state much earlier, and told George Dillwyn that if he had his choice to return to the world with all his former attachments to it, or die pursuant to his sentence, he would choose the latter and humbly trusting his peace was made.

George went with their wives and children on the morning of the day of their execution to take the last solemn leave of them; as they went he said to Robert's [John Robert's] wife, "Dost thou think thou wilt be able to be a minister of strength and not of weakness?" After an awful pause she replied, "I hope I shall." Her mind, when the query was put was so sunk into profound silence, waiting on the source of all power, who alone could support her in the approaching trying time, that she seemed afraid to break it, long enough to give the answer. The mournful time arrived—they entered—a mournful sight!! The affectionate husbands, the tender parents bound in heavy chains (surely nature recoils at the idea) which were taken off, but here alas descriptive language fails; they sat down together. O! the successive struggles between an humble acquiescence in the Divine Will; George says his feelings were altogether inconceivable, and such was the mercy and marvellous condescension of matchless love, that under a sense thereof, the final scene closed. But Oh! No sooner had the separation taken place than nature again renewed the combat, and so prevailed, that when they got into a friend's house hard by, the daughters'

emotion caused such agitation of their bodies that all their laces burst. J. R. wrote a paper of directions to his son the same day, with great composure. I suppose they were both enabled to pray that their cruel persecutors might seek repentance. What an excellent lesson had they learned from the great Master of their salvation!! "Lord forgive them for they know not what they do." They had both maintained through life unspotted moral characters. J. R. was a man of large property, and with a princely spirit shared it among his friends, neighbors, etc., whenever humanity made a demand upon him, so that he was justly styled the Father and Protector of his neighborhood. The concern of friends and others who attended his remains bespoke that he lived and died lamented. Tho' they hung about an hour Abraham's body still retained his wonted cheerful and fine countenance, which was like an index to his mind. A rumour was spread that the bodies would be seized and not suffered to be buried in the Friends' Burying Ground, but it otherwise happened, for he says, the solemnity was so great that not a smile was seen among the prodigious multitude that was ranged to see and attend the funeral. The corpses were carried into the Meeting House, where they were favoured with such a Meeting as George thinks he never was at before or since; wonderful was the solemnity that covered the minds not only of Friends but many others. While A. lay in the dungeon he could get very little rest, for the rats which swarmed about him. By the interest used on his behalf he was carried to a chamber where he was rid of his disagreeable companions.

FROM THE JOURNAL OF ISAAC HADWEN.

Contributed by Norman Penney.

By courtesy of a descendant, J. Theodore Hadwen, of Northwich, Cheshire, we have had before us the manuscript of the Journal of Isaac Hadwen, then of Sedbergh, in Yorkshire, kept during his Religious Visit to Friends in America, 1718, written on 21 pages with copies of minutes of liberation, etc. The diary begins 25 III. 1718 and ends, somewhat abruptly, 23 V. 1719. It is headed: "A Brefe Jurnall of a Voige Into Amiricay Together with Jn° Danson."[1] We extract a few entries of interest:

the 25th of y^{e} 3 Month 1718 Set forward towards London and wass at y^{e} Yearly Meting and Abode In and near London till y^{e} 26th of y^{e} 5 Mo In W^{ch} time we Visited the Metings there

Y^{e} 26th we wth ower ffr^{d}s Lidiah Lankaster, Elizabeth Rawlison and Rebeco Turner[2] With some other freinds went from London to Gravesend In a boate ower Vessal was gone before us, at Gravesend we went abord ower Vessall Called the Snow Hope In w^{ch} we Sailed to Amirico.

We wth ower frends and some others viz George Chalkley and his sone Tho: Chalkley and some freinds of London went Into the Great Cabin In a waightey frame of Spirit being near to part wth one a nother Sate Downe a little In Silance but did not sit long till it pleased the Lord to Loke downe gratiously upon us and opened the mouths of Sevarall In prayer on on ower behalfe (for ower preservation) and after prayer we In the Most

[1]John Danson lived near Ulverston in N. W. Yorkshire.

[2]Lydia Lancaster (1684–1761), formerly Rawlinson, lived at Lancaster. She travelled in the ministry with Elizabeth Rawlinson, her sister by marriage.

Elizabeth Rawlinson (c. 1670–1750), formerly Beck, was a wife of Abraham Rawlinson, of Lancaster. She was a minister sixty-three years.

Rebecca Turner lived near Bridlington, East Yorkshire. She travelled in Pennsylvania with Elizabeth Whartnaby.

See, for the above, *Journal of Friends Historical Society* (London), 10:125, 126; also Bowden, *History of Friends in America*, 2:234, 235.

Solom mannar toke leave of the aforesaid freind's but In a little time their Came More frd's from London to us viz Henerey Gouldney and Tho: Hiam and some others and we then went a Shore and Lodged y^{t} night At a Inn In Gravesend.

y^{e} 27 being y^{e} first of the weke we went to the Meting at Rochester and Returned to Gravesend at night and Lodged at the Inn again

28:2 this day In the afternowne we parted wth ower freinds and Imbarked on Bord the Snow a foresaid John Curtis Captin, David Rowland Mate, Tho: Chalkley was Husband (or Super Cargo) of our Vesall. we had Sum more freinds wth us hose Company wass Verey aceptable to us

We Landed at Philadelphia the 20 of the 8 Mo wheare we found a Verey Large Meting of ffreinds, it being the first day of the weke, wass their.

We was at some few meting not far from Philadelphia till the 9th of y^{e} 9 Mo: and then set forward to visit freinds In Some Parts of Mareyland and Virginia (viz on the Estern Shore of Chesepeack Bay.

11 [of the month] 3 [of the week] We had a meting at Chester Lodged at Jn^{o} Salkelds. ½ mile

[A newly-built meeting house at Little Creek.]

21 . 6 to Renear Williams I think he was a Dutch man but maide non or but litel profeshon of truth

25 . 3. to George Trewits J^{r} Lodged their. 45 miles

26 . 4. we was att a Meting att the a bove said George Truits' it wass apointed by ower Estemed ffr^{d} Benjamin Holme hoo Came this day to y^{e} meting. after Meting we traviled to Old George Treuits At Mulberry Grove and Lodged there. 12 miles

27 . 5. We Rested att the said G:T: and had a meting appointed for next day.

28 . 6. had a meting att G:T:^{s} house there wäss scarce aney besids him and his Wife y^{t} we had much Reason to Call freinds though a pretey number y^{t} had bene born a mongst frds but mostly gone a way In marrage.

18 . 5. We went to Joseph Kenerlayes att Transquaking we had two greate Rivers to firey over (Viz.) Wickocomico and Nanticoke and a great marsh y^{t} our horsis could Scarce goe upon It was so full of dangerous holes and soft. 3 miles

8 . 5. to Newgarden and after met: Lo^{d} att Tho Lightfuts this Met: are most of Ireland. 12 miles

9 . 6. to Caleb Puseys att Marlborrow

11 . 1. to the Met: at Kenet Lo^{d} Vinsant Coldwells. Vinsant was then gone to visit freinds in Barbados, &c. 6 miles

[Then follows a list of places visited and of Friends who entertained:] Caln—Aron Mendingholls: Goshan—Geo: Asbridge: Radnor—Rees Thomas: Havorford—dan^{ll} Humfareys: Horsham—Cosn W^{m} Stockdalls: Abington—Morris Morris.

1st:1 mo:1. to Falls Met: Lo^{d} att Joseph Kirkbrids. 5 miles

2 . 2. to the Mo Met att Burlington In West Jarcey Lo^{d} att Cusn Richard Smiths

5 . 5. to Eversham Met: (Comanly Called W^{m} Ebinsis met:) Lo^{d} Jn^{o} Estow's. 10 miles

14 . 7 to Phila. we left our horsis att Joseph Cowpers on Jarcey Side y^{e} River and went to the mete of Ministers w^{ch} was held this day there. 8 miles

The Yerly Met: begun att this time we a bode to y^{e} [?y^{t}]

24:3 and then Sete forward on ower way to goe towards Long Island and so to New England

[Then follows a list of places and hosts:] Woobridge—Jn^{o} Kinseys: Flushing—Sam^{ll} Bowns: docter Jn^{o} Rodmans.

14 . 3 I abode att S: B: J: D: was gone to new Yorke where the Small pox had bene and I did not dare to goe.

28 . 3 to Kingstown Met: and Lo^{d} att David Greens upon Jamestown Island the Indeans and maney others Call it Quananicat. 3 by water 7 miles

8 . 6 to Bristoll to see some prisanars their put by the prest for not paying his demands they did not make profeshon of truth but they saw the Covitusness of the Prest and wold not be brought under him. 20 miles

9 . 7 Yearly Met: att Warrick

10 . 1 Yearly Met: at Greenidge

[The travellers were at M. M. at Amesbury; at Hampton lodged at Moses Swett's; and later to the Y. M. at Portsmouth, 4 mo. 11, where they met with Lydia Lancaster and her sister. A visit to Nantucket followed, it being Y. M. time and on return visited John Wing at Sandwich and many others. The last entry runs:]

23 . 5. this day we were In no good order for travill having bene sore bit in the night wth Muscatoes &c. We Rid 52. Lo^{d} att New-haven.

Isaac Hadwen (1687–1737) lived at Side, near Sedbergh, in N. W. Yorkshire. He married Sarah, daughter of John and Sarah Moore, of Eldroth, N. W. Yorks (see Camb. *Journal of George Fox* and Tercentenary Supplement) in 1714. Isaac Hadwen paid another visit to America, on business, in 1737. "He landed at Hampton in Virginia about the 24th of 3d Month and having completed his business was about to return, apparently in good health, when the most High saw it right in a few days to end his labours by attack of fever, his peaceful life ending [at Chester, Delaware] the 29th of 6 Month, 1737."

There were later Isaac Hadwens, well-known Friends.—See *Journal of F. H. S.* (London), vols. IX, X, XXII.

ITEMS FROM PERIODICALS

In December, at the Anderson Galleries, was held an educational exhibition of the work of Joseph Pennell and other artists. *The Friends' Intelligencer,* 1 mo. 2, 1926, states that Joseph Pennell was born 7 mo. 4, 1860, in Philadelphia, a birthright member of Orange Street Friends' Meeting. His ancestor, Sir Robert Pennell, came over with William Penn, on his second voyage. *The Philadelphia Public Ledger* has recently had a long article on the work of Joseph Pennell, and his book, *Adventures of an Illustrator.*

According to Arthur E. Morgan, President of Antioch College, Ohio, the Quakers were the originators of the one price store. "Before the Quakers started the practice of the one price, merchants in America did as sellers do today in India—they bargained and haggled over prices."—*Friends' Intelligencer,* 11 mo. 28, 1925. On the Quaker one-price policy see the story of de Saussure p. 38, below.

The American Friend, 10 mo. 15, 1925, gives a sketch of the life of William Hiatt Coffin (with portrait). He was born in Indiana and died in California. Thus his life epitomizes the Quaker migration from the middle west to the Pacific coast. Yet it was only a segment of a longer family history reaching back through North Carolina to Nantucket Island. He moved to Kansas in 1855 as a part of the "free-soil" migration that ultimately won Kansas for freedom. His experiences in upholding the Quaker peace testimony in the midst of border warfare are worthy items in the history of Friends. (See Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism,* 2:845 ff.). William H. Coffin was born 9 mo. 26, 1825, and died 9 mo. 25, 1925, thus completing one hundred years of life on the evening of his death.

Paul J. Furnas, in an article entitled "A Quaker Laboratory," in *The American Friend* for 10 mo. 29, 1925, tells of the opening of the new home of Woolman School, at Wyncote. Wyncote was the estate of Mary W. Lippincott. She presented it, together with $10,000., as the beginning of an endowment fund for the school.

The American Friend, 11 mo. 5, 1925, states that the School Board of Richmond, Indiana, has named a school near the old Whitewater Friends' Meeting, for the late Timothy Nicholsen. Other City schools bearing names of Friends, are the William Baxter and Joseph Moore grade schools, and two Junior High Schools, the William Worth Dennis and the Julia Test.

L. Hollingsworth Wood has an interesting sketch of Quakers in Westchester County New York, in *The American Friend,* 11 mo. 5, 1925. In 1684 there was a meeting at Westchester. Other meetings were established later in Chappaqua, Amawalk, Armonk, Peach Lake, and a number of other centers. On the 31st of 10 mo., 1925, Friends of both branches met at Chappaqua for Quarterly Meeting and a Conference.

The Friend (London), 10 mo. 23, 1925, and *The American Friend,* 11 mo. 12, 1925, give a short account of the new Rendel Harris Library at Selly Oak, England. Dr. Harris is quoted as saying that his idea of heaven was "a cross between the British Museum and a second-hand book-store."

According to *The Friend,* (London), 10 mo. 2, 1925, a bronze tablet has been placed over the door of Dooms-Dole (Doomsdale) prison, Launceston Castle, where George Fox was imprisoned for eight months; this as a memorial of the Tercentenary.

The following inscription on a small stone, marks the final resting place of a German "Quaker-Martyr" of the last Century:

Here Lies a Faithful
Servant of the Lord,
Who for Christ's sake
Was Thrown into Prison,
and Died there.

Karl v. Tschirschky,
Died the 9th of June, 1833,
Aged 31 years.

Anna L. Curtis gives an interesting sketch of the life of this man, in *The Friend* (London), 11 mo. 20, 1925. He began his career as a wealthy nobleman, an army officer, and a favorite of the king. He ended his life as a weaver, a law-breaker, and a martyr for conscience's sake.

The story is told of a party of gentry out for a gay time who stopped in the cottage of the weaver as he sat busy at his loom. They asked many questions and finally became too importunate, and one came forward and asked for a drink of water. Then Tschirschky arose and said, "I will give you of the water of life." And then, "What went ye out for to see?" he asked them sternly, and preached from this text a short but severe sermon calling them to repentance for their worldliness. The gay crowd listened to the end, and then slipped quietly away."

According to *The Friend* (London), 12 mo. 4, 1925, the first original work on Quakerism in an Oriental language is the work of Najeeb Shameoun, headmaster of the co-educational Friends' High School at Brumana. It is in Arabic. "Already the book is proving useful in the life of the Quaker community in Syria and increasing an interest in it from the outside."

The statue to Joseph Sturge, in a suburb of Birmingham, England, has recently been moved a short distance from its original site and these words have been cut into the stone: "He laboured to bring freedom to the negro slaves, the vote to British workmen and the promise of peace to a war-worn world."—*The Friend* (Phila.), 9 mo. 10, 1925.

The Friend (Philadelphia), 10 mo. 8, 1925, gives "Extracts from Isaac Penington, concerning the right use of the Scriptures."

The Friend (Philadelphia), 11 mo. 5, and 11 mo. 12, 1925, reprints from *The Christian Century*, a paper on "John Woolman and the Gospel," by Andrew Gillies. Woolman's program is summed up as follows: "Personal readjustment of one's own affairs, then personal work for the definite conversion of others to the higher social ethics, *and then* corporate action by church and state."

"The Lord God is eternal, unapproachable Light, and thou, with all thy reasoning, and self-agitation and cogitation art darkness, until He Himself arise in thee, as the brightness of seven days, and give thee light and understanding."—Extract from a sermon preached by Thomas Story at the Friends' Meeting House in Gracechurch Street, London, 6 mo. 12, 1737.—*The Friend* (Philadelphia), 12 mo. 3, 1925.

In *The Friend* (Phila.), 12 mo. 3, 1925, appeared an article by President W. W. Comfort, of Haverford College, entitled, "Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and Haverford College." It contains valuable historical data on the number of Haverfordians in official positions in the yearly meeting. *Par exemple:* "42 per cent. of all men on Yearly Meeting committees, 1925–26, are Haverfordians." Also (1924–25) 27 overseers, 12 ministers, and 11 elders were graduates or former students of Haverford College.

It is often lamented that William Penn's "holy experiment" in Pennsylvania included no provision for an institution of higher learning. Harvard College was nearly half a century old when Penn came to America but Friends of that generation did not learn wisdom from the experiment at Cambridge. Yet Haverford College was born in the fulness of time and is now approaching its centennial year (1933). No less than ten other colleges under Friendly auspices have entered the lists since the foundations of Haverford were laid. Wanted, a competent research scholar to develop the thesis, "The Influence of Higher Education upon the Society of Friends in America."

One almost feels the need of publishing an extra number of the BULLETIN to cover the valuable items and articles in *The Journal of Friends' Historical Society* (London) vol. 22, (1925). The following items, bearing upon American Quaker history, are briefly mentioned with the recommendation that those interested subscribe for the *Journal* or secure access to it in some library. The editor is Norman Penney, LL. D., and the *Journal* can be secured at $1.25 per year through the Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 E. 20th Street, New York, or through Grace W. Blair, Media, Pa.

Continuing the list of Quaker inventors, discoverers, and leaders in various lines, the following are mentioned: Robert Murray (d. 1786), of New York, father of Lindley Murray; John Keese III (1773–1860), Cardington, Ohio, inventor; Phineas Davis (1795–1835), of York, Pa., watchmaker and engine builder; Margaret Morris (1737–1816), of Burlington, N. J., "a skilful doctress;" C. Francis Jenkins (1868–), of Washington, D. C., inventor of motion picture apparatus; Job Roberts, born 1757, said to have been the first to bring merino sheep into Pennsylvania.—pp. 10–14.

An original letter from John Woolman, while in England (1772), to Rachel Wilson has been given to Friends' Reference Library, London. The letter was carried by a Friend because John Woolman was not clear to send it by post,—in the "flying Coaches...which run so fast as oft to oppress the horses."—p. 18.

There are valuable data from *The Gurneys of Lakenham Grove,* a typewritten volume belonging to Sir Alfred E. Pease, Bart.—p. 19 ff.

"Dorothy Ripley, Unaccredited Missionary." Dorothy Ripley (1767–1831) started early with her over-powering religious concern: "It is a sin to play; rise and pray." This inward admonition came to her at three years of age. In later years she was drawn to Friends but was not received into membership,—although some Friends sympathized with and helped her. She heard a voice commanding her to "go ten thousand miles" in the interest of "poor Ethiopia's children." She accomplished this mission in a journey to the United States, provided with "neither gold nor silver and leaning on no arm of flesh." Upon her return to England she felt an urge "to go forth twenty thousand miles." However, the unaccredited missionary is given respite from this longer journey until the Editor of the *Journal* can trace her further wanderings.—pp. 33–51.

There are items from the Diary of Samuel Mickle (1746–1830), as printed in the Year Book (1924) of the New Jersey Society of Pennsylvania.—pp. 78–79.

The following items of interest are from *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* vol. 50 (1926), number 1:

An article, pp. 1–22, by Charles R. Barker on "Old Mills of Mill Creek, Lower Merion." Several *ancient* Friends are mentioned, notably John Roberts who owned several mills along Mill Creek, and who was later executed for aiding the British armies. (For a picture of the old Roberts Mill see Isaac Sharpless, *A Quaker Experiment in Government,* 2:193. See also a contemporary account of the death of John Roberts and Abraham Carlisle in this *Bulletin,* p. 28, above.

There is also a paper, pp. 23–28, on "The Historical Connection of the Shippen Family to the State." This paper was read at the dedication of the marker at Shippensburg, 6 mo. 6, 1925, as reported in the *Bulletin,* 14 (1925): 71.

Those interested in description and travel, and especially in agricultural and social conditions, should not miss Joshua Gilpin's "Journal of a Tour from Philadelphia thro the Western Counties of Pennsylvania in the Months of September and October, 1809." Pp. 64–78. At Downingtown the traveler writes: "This town takes its name from the family who originally settled the tract—it is a very respectable Quaker family, who are numerous and wealthy—Hunt Downing one of them owns and keeps the Inn which is an excellent one—he is also (like most Inn keepers on this road) a considerable farmer; which gives great plenty to the house, and is one cause of its cheapness—our whole dinner bill including wine, servant, and two horses was $1.50."

On page 95 of the *Magazine* is a review of *The Short Journal and Itinerary Journals of George Fox,* with honorable mention of Friends' Historical Association for fostering its publication.

NOTES AND QUERIES

The Annual Meeting of FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION was held at the Friends' Meeting House, 15th and Race Streets, Philadelphia, 11 mo. 30, 1926. Miscellaneous business was transacted and the two amendments to the Constitution, printed in the *Bulletin* (14:25, 92), were adopted. Directors were elected for the ensuing year and they in turn elected officers. (For list of Officers and Directors see page ii of this BULLETIN.) Professor John W. Graham, of the Howard M. Jenkins Chair of Quaker History and Research, Swarthmore College, read a valuable paper which is printed as the leading article in this number of the BULLETIN. An interesting array of historical manuscripts and articles from the collections of the Association was exhibited.

Good progress is again recorded in the *Annual Report* (1925) of the John Woolman Memorial Association. About two thousand people from all parts of the United States and from England have visited the memorial house, which is now under the efficient care of Lillian Kauffman. About fifteen hundred meals have been served in the tea room.

Here is a monument of the past that is also a going concern of the present. It deserves wide and generous support. Those wishing to join the Association should address Amelia M. Gummere, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Our friend Norman Penney is beginning the long task of preparing a definitive edition of the *Journal of George Fox* for general use, to take the place of the Bicentenary Edition. It will be based largely on the Cambridge edition, and the Tercentenary Supplement, with spelling, etc. modernized. It will thus be meant for general reading rather than for scholarly research, but will be much fuller than any popular edition printed heretofore.

Travel in America one hundred and sixty-five years ago had its trials and tribulations. Some of these hardships are recorded by Elizabeth Wilkinson in her "Journal of a Religious Visit to America, 1761–1763." This English Quakeress traveled south to the Carolinas and north to Boston, journeying 4,327 miles on horseback. We read in her journal:

"12th Mo. 17th D. 1761 (Maryland) Rid to Post Tobacco and lodged at an Inn having crossed the Patuxent, 14 bridges and other dangerous places yet were mercifully preserved safe:"

"7th Mo. 21st D. 1762. These last three days ride being thro' the colony of Connecticutt where there were no Friends, the road being stoney and the season very hot made it unpleasant traveling and I had a fall off my new mare in turning out of a river but thro' mercy not much hurt."

"8th Mo. 7th D. 1762 (New Jersey) I may remark that in all our travels thro' these Salt marshes we have mett with few musketoes which was a kindness to us for they don't agree well with English Folks." (Contributed by George H. Renninger.)

An event new in the annals of Quaker missionary effort, if not in the history of Christian missions, occurred recently in China. A Chinese General, Lei Fuk Lam, gave his infant son to Dr. William W. Cadbury to be reared and educated. Dr. and Mrs. Cadbury have adopted the child. Daughters are often given away in this manner, but so far as is known this is the first gift of a son. Dr. Cadbury, formerly of Philadelphia, is a physician attached to the Canton Christian College. His services have won the respect of General Lei Fuk Lam. who has been otherwise very antagonistic to the white race. *Public Ledger* (Phila.), 1 mo. 10, 1926.

In *The Daily Intelligencer* (Doylestown, Pa.) 11 mo. 30, 1925, is printed a paper by our fellow member, Colonel Henry D. Paxson, on the "Figurehead of Chief Tammany." This figurehead (or bust) was taken from the old Ship-of-the-line Delaware (1820) when it was dismantled many years ago, and it now stands on the campus of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland. It has formerly been identified as a representation of King Philip, Tecumseh, or other famous Indians. Colonel Paxson has proved from the records of the Navy Department that the correct identification is the great Delaware Chief, Tammany,—an appropriate figure to associate with the ship "Delaware."

César de Saussure, a Frenchman who traveled in England from 1725 to 1730, wrote many interesting letters home. In one of them he describes the Quakers—not very kindly on the whole. He does, however, praise their honesty, and tells in illustration the story of a young dandy who went into a Quaker's shop to buy some goods. He was so enraged when the merchant refused to bargain with him, even though the price was fair, that he swore an oath that he would not buy at the price. Finding nothing suitable elsewhere, he returned and asked for the cloth, but the Friend refused to sell it to him lest he be guilty of causing the dandy to break his oath. "Few merchants, I think," adds de Saussure, "would have had the delicacy of feeling this Quaker merchant had."—César de Saussure, *A Foreign View of England* (Dutton, 1902), pp. 324–325.—(Contributed by Richard C. Bull.)

An article appeared in *The World's Work*, 7 mo., 1925, entitled, "Antiquities of American Business." Speaking of the centenary firms of Philadelphia the writer says: There is a habit of longevity in Philadelphia. Without looking up the statistics one would venture to guess that a good many of these families belong to the old Quaker sect, whose habits of life and thought tend toward stability."

Concerning old Quaker businesses in or about Philadelphia the following data are at hand, and could no doubt be considerably amplified.

Francis Perot's Sons Malting Company is generally recognized to be the oldest business house in America measured by the rule of continuous existence. The business was established in Philadelphia in 1687 and has descended from father to son for eight generations. T. Morris Perot, Jr. is now President of the company.

J. E. Rhoads and Sons, Tanners, are also of ancient lineage. Joseph Rhoads, who died in 1732, inherited from his father, John Rhoads, a tract of land in Marple Township, Delaware County, Pennsylvania. There is a family tradition that he established a tanyard there in 1702. There are authentic records of the tanning business from 1723. From these beginnings came the present firm of J. E. Rhoads and Sons, Leather Belting, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Wilmington, Delaware, and other cities.

Wm. H. Moon Company, Nurserymen, Morrisville, Pa. Business dates from 1767. A pear tree sold in 1776 still bears fruit.

Jenkins' Store, Gwynedd, Pa., founded 1794. Discontinued by Walter H. Jenkins in 1912.

J. Gibson McIlvain and Company, Lumber, Philadelphia. Business founded in 1798.

R. D. Wood and Company, Ironsmelters, Founders, Cast-Iron Pipes, Pumps, Turbines, etc., Philadelphia. Business founded 1803, now conducted by Walter Wood.

Edward W. Woolman, Milk, Philadelphia. Business founded by Joel Woolman in 1804. Now carried on by Edward Woolman and Henry N. Woolman. Edward W. Woolman, a founder of the Friends' Historical Association, died 12 mo. 15, 1924, as previously announced in the *Bulletin.*

For other centenary firms and for further data on those listed above see *Association of Centenary Firms and Corporations of the United States.* Third issue. Phila. 1924. Pp. 212. The Francis Perot's Sons Malting Company has published a valuable historical sketch of their business entitled, *The Oldest Business House in America.* Pp. 24.

The following accessions to the Haverford College Library, on the subject of the American Indians are noted:

1. The manuscript Journal of David Bacon's visit to the Indians of western New York, 1794. This covers the well known treaty negotiations between the United States and the Six Nations, at Canandaigua, New York. William Savery, David Bacon, John Parrish and James Emlen represented the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings on this occasion.

2. The manuscript Journal of John Peirce entitled, "Notes on a visit to the Seneca Nation of Indians by Joshua Sharpless and John Peirce, 1798."

A fragment of John Peirce's Journal (manuscript), covering his visit to the Oneida Indians, New York, 1798.

Manuscript Journal of John Peirce covering a journey in 1801 among the Seneca Indians of Western New York; also Visiting Friends' settlements at Black River, Short Hills, and Pelham, in Canada.

3. From the family of the late John B. Garrett has come a bundle of reports on the Indian Council at Fort Smith, Arkansas, 1865; also valuable papers and reports concerning the work of Friends among the Indians of the west a few years later under the auspices of the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian affairs.

4. Through the generosity of some Friends of the college about seventy-five volumes were purchased recently at a public sale of books concerning American Indians.

The above acquisitions add considerably to the already large collection of Indian materials in the Haverford College Library. Further gifts along the same line will be appreciated. It is of value to historical scholars to have materials on a given subject concentered in a given place.

In the death of James Wood, of Mt. Kisco, New York, we have lost one of the great Quakers of this generation. He was born 11 mo. 12, 1839 and died 12 mo. 19, 1925. He attended Haverford College, 1854–1857; was long a member of the Board of Managers of Haverford College; for some years President of the Board of Trustees of Bryn Mawr College; was a founder of the New York State Reformatory for Women, at Bedford, N. Y.; Chairman of the American Bible Society; President of the West Chester County Bible Society, the West Chester County Historical Society, and the Bedford Farmers' Club. He was one of the greatest leaders of American Quakerism in recent times: was Clerk of the Richmond Conference of 1887; helped to found the Five Years Meeting and was Clerk of that body in 1897; aged but vigorous he attended the Five Years Meeting in 1922 and was Chairman of the delegation of New York Yearly Meeting. For forty years, 1885–1925, he was Clerk of New York Yearly Meeting (Orthodox). A sketch of his life by Rufus M. Jones appeared in *The Friend* (Phila.), 12 mo. 31, 1925; the same in *The Friend* (London) and *The American Friend* about the same time. Portrait in last named paper.

There was also a beautiful and touching appreciation of James Wood from the viewpoint of an English Friend, Arnold S. Rowntree, in *The Friend* (London), 1 mo. 8, 1926.

Friends in America join with English Friends in a deep sense of loss at the sudden death, 12 mo. 4, 1925, of Alfred Kemp Brown. Many will remember his helpful presence at the Five Years Meeting of 1917. The BULLETIN recently noticed his little book, *The Sacraments, a Quaker View.* It is a brief, convincing presentation that will bear the scrutiny of trained minds. Its author has been referred to as the "scholar-saint."—Notice and portrait in *The Friend* (London), 12 mo. 18, 1925. p. 1137.

BOOK NOTICES AND REVIEWS

Books of interest to Friends may usually be purchased at the following places:

Friends' Book Store, 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

Walter H. Jenkins, 140 N. 15 St., Philadelphia.

Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East 20th Street, New York City.

Friends' Book and Supply House, Richmond, Indiana.

Friends' Bookshop, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N. W. 1, England.

When the price of an English book is given below in terms of American money, it means that one of the American book stores has quoted that price.

Best, Mary Agnes. *Rebel Saints.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1925. Pp. 333, cloth. $3.00.

In this most delightful book Miss Best has done a fine piece of interpretation. Feeling that the word Quaker has too often come to connote a quiet, contemplative nature she points out that in its earliest days "the Society was characterized neither by hoary heads nor by tranquility; it was distinctly a youth movement, and consequently noted for intense enthusiasm rather than the caution and discretion that comes with years."

The book is primarily neither historical nor chronological, but to illustrate her thesis the author has resuscitated from Quaker chronicles, notably Sewel's *History* and Besse's *Sufferings,* such tales of courage, devotion to a great ideal, and unconquerable persistence that her book is a record of adventure by sea and land, of apparently mad projects brought to success, of men and women who made war on society with no other weapons than spiritual argument.

"In its time the Quaker uprising was regarded as extreme left-wing radicalism, subversive of law and order, threatening the overthrow of government; and it was therefore considered a pious and patriotic duty to suppress it by fair means or foul." This point is frequently discussed and especially in connection with the Boston martyrs where our author finds herself in close agreement with recent historians who have laid bare the "Puritan superiority complex" which got so early a start.

"Some of the war cries seem trivial," she admits, "or even absurd. It is only against the background of their time, however, that these absurdities can be viewed in the proper perspective. In many cases they were the protective coloring by which their raids on the fields of tradition were made less conspicuous.....But beneath all the fanatical exploits, buried under mountains of obsolete phraseology and dogma, one great fact emerges: their

fight was one of the most cruel and persistent wars in the records of our race, between intrenched authority and custom on one side and individual liberty on the other. They enlisted for the duration of that war, and, so far as the English-speaking peoples are concerned, went over the top almost alone, with nothing to back them but spiritual force, unparalleled courage, and a mighty power which they called God."

With the exception of slight errors in the Foreword and the mistaken statement that Elizabeth Haddon's courtship was the basis for Longfellow's *Courtship of Miles Standish* instead of his poem *Elizabeth,* the book is remarkably accurate both as to facts and atmosphere. But even those who are fairly familiar with Quaker literature will be impressed with the fresh and vivid method of presentation and the sympathetic understanding of the principles at stake.

ELIZABETH B. JONES.

Brandt, Francis Burke, and Gummere, Henry Volkmar. *Byways and Boulevards in and about Philadelphia.* Philadelphia: Corn Exchange National Bank, 1925. Pp. 320, cloth. $3.00.

From jacket to binding to sumptuous illustrations this is a book worthy of the best traditions of Philadelphia book-making. It would ornament any library table but would not long be left there if the garage housed an automobile. For this book, as its title suggests, beckons enticingly to the Byways and Boulevards of historic Philadelphia.

It is an automobile "Blue Book" for those who wish to see the historic sights of Philadelphia and vicinity. Its timeliness in view of the Sesqui-Centennial is obvious, and has been duly recognized. It has been designated the *Official Historic Auto-Guide* of the Sesqui-Centennial Exhibition Association.

The various routes are given in the approved style of the tourist's blue-book, with driving directions and the mileage of the various points of interest. In addition there are valuable historical data on the more important land-marks.

Route 2. Memorials of William Penn. This trip covers 19.1 miles, starting and terminating at City Hall. The following items indicate the scope of this route: Calder's statue of Penn on City Hall tower; Penn's secretary, clock, etc., at the Library Company; original portrait of Penn in armor, and many relics of him at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; the statue of Penn on the grounds of the Pennsylvania Hospital; corner of Front and Dock Streets where Penn first landed in Philadelphia; site of the old Slate Roof House; old "Wampum Strip" or Indian Reservation; Penn Treaty Park; "Solitude," former home of John Penn; the Letitia Penn House in Fairmount Park; Belmont Mansion and Wynnstay; back via Lancaster Avenue and Market Street to City Hall.

There are twenty-six such routes, besides two summary routes for those typical Americans who must hurry; also twelve "Great Highway Routes" to and from Philadelphia. There are routes to Germantown, Valley Forge, and to notable Revolutionary Mansions; routes concerning Washington, Franklin, Benjamin West, and Bayard Taylor; a route for Old Schools and Schoolmasters. There are routes that Henry V. Gummere must have known would help the Friends' Historical Association plan some spring pilgrimages.

There are more than three hundred illustrations, many of them very beautiful, making the book a veritable art gallery of historic Philadelphia. It is hard to see how anybody who cares for the past and present glories of Penn's great province can afford to be without this book.

Espenshade, A. Howry. *Pennsylvania Place Names.* State College, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State College, 1925. Pp. 375, cloth. $3.50.

More history can be learned from place names than this old world dreams of. All who have experienced the fascination and profit of this type of historical study will rejoice that a dictionary of Pennsylvania place names is now available.

There is a section on "State, Counties, and County Seats;" next follows one on "The Larger Towns;" finally, "Villages and Townships."

The lesser subdivisions under towns (for example) are: "Towns with Borrowed Names; Towns that have Indian Names; Towns Named for Industries and Geographical Features; Towns Named for Persons." The Indian names throughout the book make especially interesting reading.

The data for the counties, cities, and larger towns are fairly full. People living in smaller places will rise to remark that theirs is no mean city and should have had more attention. This, for example, as to Swarthmore: "The college was.....named for Swarthmore Hall, the home of George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends." Swarthmore Hall, and not a word about Margaret Fell! But the book was not prepared especially for Quaker consumption.

There is an index of the place names and a general index. One wishes they had been combined,—which is the modern, rational method, yet one should not cavil when an author comes bearing the gift of such a useful, interesting handbook.

Sparhawk, Frances Campbell. *Whittier at Close Range.* Published by the Author, 12 Kent St., Brookline, Mass. Pp. 181, cloth. $2.00.

This little book is a welcome addition to our Whittier literature, coming as it does from the pen of one who knew and loved the poet, and who could indeed observe him at "close range." The value of the book is not to be measured by the new facts regarding the poet's life which it brings to light—for these are few indeed—but in the picture which it gives us—

richer here and there both in tone and in color than that afforded by Mr. Pickard's biography. Now it is of the poet in his garden room with the flowers he loved so well all around him; now we see him moving in the circle of his family and intimate friends in loving and sympathetic companionship; and now it is of one laboring in the larger world of action with a tireless energy which makes us forget his frail physique and the hours of exhaustion and suffering which this activity entailed.

Nowhere have we a more vivid portrayal of Whittier's physical presence than the writer gives on p. 20,—a portrayal which makes one recall vividly Partridge's noble bust of the poet, which stands in the reading room of the Boston Public Library; and material is also supplied which tends to vivify our conception of the poet's inner nature. Even in a brief notice of the book some few of these may be touched upon, for to the reviewer they seem essential to a right understanding of Whittier and of his message.

First we may mention the fact—often unnoticed or disregarded—that Whittier was a born artist. His love of freedom and his hatred of all forms of wrong and oppression were likewise parts of his natural endowment, as was also that spiritual attitude of mind which enabled him so adequately to interpret the essence of true religion; but these went hand in hand with a love of all beautiful things so intense that it amounted to a passion. He wrote of himself:

"His eye was beauty's powerless slave
And his the ear which discord pains;
Few guessed beneath his aspect grave
What passions strove in chains."

And he shows himself the artist in his reply to his doctor's question about easy writing (quoted on p. 126): "Everything is labor to me. I don't know any easy writing."—a phrase which recalls Mrs. Brownings words: "I have worked at poetry; it has not been to me reverie but art."

The question at once arises as to whether the poems in which romantic love is touched upon—and this element in Whittier is larger than many readers realize—have not been made unduly personal by the poet's interpreters. The personal basis may be there—in some cases certainly is there—but so is also the artist's feeling for the charm of feminine loveliness.

Again, the book before us adds new anecdotes which tend to heighten our appreciation of Whittier's sense of humor. How very real this was, all those who have read Mr. Pickard's volumes know; but one would have loved to be present when, on the occasion of his niece's marriage, the poet said to the staid Joseph Cartland, "who had become infected with the general restlessness,"—Thee sit down, Joseph. Thee isn't going to be married."

Here and there we find touches which illuminate that side of Whittier's nature which is coming more and more to be felt as the most significant

side, and which reveal him as the prophet that he was, an interpreter of the highest things in life, and one whose soul was ever quick to hearken to the Divine Voice within him. A mystic he was, but he was no quietist. His religion was one of action, and its basis was love. All his life long he sought to interpret the Divine Love—so often obscured in creed and ritual,—all his life long he expressed in word and in deed his own love for his fellow men; and it was indeed fitting that his last message should be: "Love to all the world."

Palo Alto, California. A. T. MURRAY.

Stanton, William Henry. *Our Ancestors the Stantons.* Philadelphia: printed for the Author. 1922. Pp. 649, cloth.

The family line traced in this book descends from Robert Stanton, born 1599 in England, who settled at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, in 1638. The family history is traced in the utmost detail,—and fortunately these details are well indexed. Such a profusion of illustration we have seldom if ever seen. The body of the book is printed on a heavy, deckle edge paper. Eight photogravure portraits and the many inserts are on an imported Japanese vellum. Inserted also are actual samples of ancestral dresses, a wisp of homespun linen thread, and a thin-shaved bit of White Oak from an old log house. The binding is of imported cloth and it is stamped in the purest grade of gold leaf.

The book represents a vast amount of labor and expense. Few families can aspire to such a set-up of their history. Along with the author due credit should go to our fellow member, Austin C. Leeds, whose skilled hand wrought in the making of his sumptuous volume.

Starbuck, Alexander. *History of Nantucket, County, Island and Town including the Genealogy of the First Settlers.* Boston: Goodspeed. 1924. Pp. 871, cloth. $5.00.

This bulky volume of 810 finely printed pages was prepared by the late President of the Nantucket Historical Society. In it he traces the history of the famous little island from the glacial period, following Professor Shaler's most interesting story of the formation of this portion of the south coast of New England, on both Cape Cod and Nantucket.[1] All early historians assert that the Norsemen, even before Gosnold's visit in 1602, had seen the coast of Nantucket, if they had not landed.

A. Starbuck begins his history with the conveyance of the island in 1635 by Charles I to William Earl of Stirling, then Secretary for Scotland who appointed James Forrett his deputy. April 4th, 1637, Forrett sold Nantucket "and Severall small Islands adjacent" to Thomas Mayhew and his son, of Watertown, Mass. for the sum of forty pounds. The Mayhews

[1]N. S. Shaler. *U. S. Geological Survey. Bulletin* No. 53, 1888.

also secured a grant from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, "Lord proprietor of Maine,"—a term covering the indefinite "New England" of the period.

The settlement of Nantucket is a part of the history of religious persecution by the Puritans. Tristram Coffin in 1659 came from "The Massachusetts" with Edward Starbuck and Isaac Coleman, the latter only a boy of twelve, to visit the islands with an eye to settlement, and finding upon arrival at Martha's Vineyard that the title to Nantucket was vested in Thomas Mayhew, pursued his way thither, taking Peter Folger along as interpreter. Coffin sought a secure place in which to bring up his family safe from the intolerant turmoil of religious persecution which then raged about his home. The surveying party, finding that the native Indians were willing to sell their lands, formed a company of ten, including Mayhew, who reserved a share, and purchased of him the island of Nantucket for thirty pounds "currant pay, and two bever hatts, one for myself and one for my wife." These hats now figure in the seal of the Nantucket Historical Society.

The ten purchasers each took a partner, and Thomas Macy of Salisbury, Mass., at once became a leader in the group. He had in October sheltered, for Edward Wharton who accompanied them, two English Quakers, William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, who were hanged in Boston in December of the same year, 1659. It is a mistake to assert, as is so often done, that Nantucket was first settled by the Quakers. Thomas Macy was a Baptist. His own sect as well as the Indians were forbidden to worship on English soil after their own manner, and he had first got into trouble for sheltering an unlicensed preacher whom he protected solely upon humanitarian grounds. The whole group were liberal and independent thinkers, who sought only quiet and freedom, and their spirit has survived to this day.

The proprietorship eventually became vested in twenty-seven owners. Much land changed hands. The Indians, however, were never able to understand that having once made a deed of sale, they had no longer any rights of hunting or fishing upon that tract. There are many interesting Indian deeds for Nantucket lands in the archives of the State of New York, under whose Jurisdiction the island remained until 1693, when, in the reign of William and Mary, it became a part of Massachusetts. The intricacies of the ownership of land, with the sheep commons and complicated rights of possession, form a remarkable story in themselves, worthy of careful study by the historian. For the details of land purchases, and the deeds of the Sachems, as well as the involved ownerships which multiplied as years went on, we are referred to the researches of the late H. B. Worth, ("Nantucket Land and Landowners") who has gone more fully into the matter than any one else. Mr. Starbuck's record of the early settlement shows a strong parallel between the treatment of the Indians in Nantucket and the policy of William Penn in Pennsylvania. Red and

white man dwelt side by side, and no rude or bloody outbreak dispossessed the whites. A fruitful study of this land proprietorship could also be made in connection with that of the twenty-four proprietors of West Jersey a few years later, with the survival of the "Council of Proprietors" as a body still meeting annually today.

The history of the whale fishery is quite fully treated, and forms perhaps the most complete portion of the book. The old *log books* now in the Nantucket Museum of the Historical Society are impressive to the visitor. Almost ruined by the Revolutionary War, the trade revived, and eighty pages are required to list the vessels sailing from Nantucket on whaling voyages between 1788 and 1869, when the "Oak," the island's last whaler, sailed for the Pacific, secured 510 barrels of oil, which were sent home by another ship, and the vessel sold at Panama in 1872. William Rotch's splendid effort at establishing the industry in England, his dismissal by William Pitt, and his later complete success in France at Dunkirk are described.[2]

The Quakers are more justly dealt with in this book than in the history by Dr. Douglas-Lithgow.[3] The latter fails to understand them or their beliefs. Starbuck recognizes their high ideals, and how brief was the period when in Massachusetts they manifested the unseemly zeal described by Fiske. There is a tradition of the visit of a Quakeress, one Jane Stokes, on the island as early as 1664. Starbuck gives long extracts from the journals of Thomas Chalkley, 1698; John Richardson, 1701, and Thomas Story, 1704. Before the end of the 18th century, half the inhabitants of the island (which numbered between five and six thousand) were Quakers. There is no adequate reference to the wonderful Mary Starbuck, earliest convert to the Society of Friends by John Richardson, whose history is very striking. She held meetings in her own house, and as these grew, petitioned the Yearly Meeting of Rhode Island for the establishment of a Monthly Meeting, which was effected in April, 1708. She became a *Deborah* among the people, and her home was significantly called "Parliament House." The author is her direct descendant. Valuable genealogical tables assist the historian in ancestral lore. The first protest of Nantucket against slavery was made in 1716, when the meeting declared that it "was not agreeable to Truth to purchase slaves and keep them term of life." John Farmer's "epistle" against slavery was presented by him here, as elsewhere, in 1717. Elihu Coleman published his valuable paper on the same topic in 1733, three years after it was written. There are town records of many manumissions following the visits of John Woolman in 1747 and others, unnoted by Starbuck.

[2]Particulars of this remarkable Quaker enterprise are given in "Memoranda" by William Rotch.

[3]"Nantucket, A History." By R. A. Douglas-Lithgow, LL. D. Putnam. 1914.

This book passes over without comment the peculiar flora and the most picturesque social life of the island. The final history of Nantucket is not yet written, for without a keen sympathy with the struggles of the settlers, and above all, a sense of humor, real justice cannot be done to a fruitful subject. One regrets that this volume is printed in poor type, with an imperfect index, but we are glad to have the facts. "The Off-Islander," as people from the "Continent" were called, is not easily admitted to the inner circle of the socially elect. "He's on, from off" briefly dismisses him! Much may, and should, be written with an eloquent pen of the delightful little island whose charm is not learned on a first visit. When the heights of Wannacomet first rise in view from the approaching steamer, one sees the spot where the early inhabitants built, and whence they moved to the present site of the town more accessible to the sea. The old vestry and tower of the First Congregational Church are silent witnesses of the time when the Colony of Massachusetts resolved to "gospelize" the islanders. One wanders through "Stone Alley" and up "Step Lane," and finds in the private account book of Edward and Mary Starbuck, recently discovered and now in the Historical Society's possession, a starting point in 1660 for the fascination of the present day. Starbuck makes no reference to this priceless manuscript, rescued from an attic not long ago, and beautifully restored by the Historical Society. And one still goes back to Obed Macy and his little *history,* for a *digested* narrative.

AMELIA M. GUMMERE.

Wharton, Susanna Parrish (Compiler). *The Parrish Family (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), Including the Related Families of Cox, Dillwyn, Roberts, Chandler, Mitchel, Painter, Pusey.* Philadelphia. 1925. Pp. 336, full leather.

Not in many a long day have we seen a book more worthy of a worthy family name. It is printed in large type on heavy, coated paper, and sumptuously bound. Nor should the lucid, vigorous literary style of the compiler go unmentioned.

The basis of the book is of materials collected by Dillwyn Parrish (1809–1886). The major portion is devoted to the eminent physician, Joseph Parrish (1779–1840). The reader is likely to grow lenient toward the pride of Quaker ancestry, upon seeing such a character delineated. There is a wealth of illustration and facsimile in the volume, fifty-seven plates all told. There is a good Table of Contents but no Index. The latter would have been helpful for reference purposes.

The volume is more than a genealogy. Lists and dates have their place, but here are descriptions, anecdotes and narrative pages such as are the finest materials for the social history of any age. At the opening of the volume the compiler asks "indulgence." She will receive it of every reader, plus gratitude.